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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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754 sorcerizing people? This place is no good." Then there would follow speculations as to who the guilty party could be. Comments like this were frequently made: "There were some children from Tug sib wandering about the hamlet this afternoon. The Tug train their children to steal sorcery material. We had better be careful with our food leavings." Or, "Yat asked me for my cigarette butt to get a light this afternoon. I do not remember that he gave it back. I'll bet that he kept it for sorcery material. He had better not try anything or I'll show him. If I get sick I'll know who is the cause of it."

The Kwoma preoccupation with sorcery is so marked that they are notorious for it. The river people look upon them as "man bilong poison." My Yambon houseboy was extremely nervous about being stationed at Kwoma and was constantly warning me of the danger of sorcery. He finally became ill and, being sure that some Kwoma who wished him ill was causing it, fled home despite my protestations. Gwiyap once told me that he wished I would take him to America, where, [177] I had told him, there was no sorcery. Some of the young men who had recently returned from working for European enterprises talked of banding together to put an end to sorcery.

754 • 627 683 It is not surprising that a person suspected of sorcery has a difficult time at Kwoma. Anyone caught stealing sorcery material may be killed on the spot, and his close relatives will receive little support in any plan for retaliation. If the relatives of a sorcery victim succeed in fastening on someone the responsibility for the victim's sickness, the sorcerer is in danger of his life unless he nullifies the magic and the sick man recovers.[31] To sorcerize a relative is a particularly heinous crime, and, if it were proved that a man had done such a thing, he would be ostracized from the community. Kwoma society permits a man to use sorcery only against someone who has committed a capital crime[32] against him or one of his relatives.

[31] This does not apply to sorcerers who work their magic for pay. The person who hires the sorcerer is held responsible for the crime. The professional sorcerer usually does not know the identity of the victim, but he is hated, feared, and if possible avoided.

[32] Rape, murder, arson, or sorcery.

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal coöperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

[11] See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

[12] If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

[13] Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] here in a few days on his patrol.
[657]

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get geneologies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term narumboy we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[264] yet know. Later on when one's narumboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yalagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yalagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwom. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenysbankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

114 he had presumed to go to the house tamberan where the big men were blowing
627 the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kiop". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwem "navi-talk" . He came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabenkura women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to protect themselves. They knew that the "kipp" had tabooed killing. I'm sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Ambunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called samba and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwem. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbiman's samba. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwem sib and got some
174 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwem in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

224 [518] [648] made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Polwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Polwaga. They live at the old Kaymakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Tumbwinambara. Polwaga is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 627 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Soubundura and Way came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 241 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Tambon this morning. Rwai was cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, May, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa'a on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house